where the town of Villa Bella de Mato Grosso, three quarters abandoned, must have undergone several attacks by unknown Indians, during the same period, but whom the rare residents also call by the name of Kabiji. According to our informants, this group in itself still had 700 or 800 individuals of whom we encountered a dozen in September 1938 (1). The other groups decreased rapidly, by epidemics, and

1. See below, p. 52.

owing to their feeble birth rate which constitutes a general phenomenon as will be seen in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of each group.

* * *

All by himself, Roquette Pinto has attempted a classification of the Nambikwara. He distinguishes four groups. To the southeast, the Kokozu, who live near the Juruena, Juina, Papagaio and Camarazt Rivers; to the northeast, the Anunsé, who occupy the basin of the Dore de Outubro River; to the southwest, a group called Uainazu or Kabixi, extending from Campos Novos to the valley of the Guaporé. Finally, to the northwest, from the west bank of the Dore de Outubro River to the valley of the Roosevelt River, is found a final group consisting of the Tagnani, Tauité, Saluma, Taruté, Taschuité. Roquette Pinto does not clearly indicate on what basis this classification is founded. One can assume that it is not purely linguistic, since the vocabularies published in Rondonia contain only three dialects. Without doubt, a good deal of empiricism is involved. Besides, the list of groups which is found in the publications of Rondon and his collaborators only occasionally corresponds to the classification of Roquette Pinto. Our own lists of names of groups do not include all those cited by our precursors; but they reveal several new names. At the same time, we have brought up some dialects which had never been mentioned. It is thus too early to proceed to a definitive classification, and farther on will be found the reasons for these uncertainties. The nomad bands of the Nambikwara are of fragile formation, and they all possess a name, a surname derived from the system of parentage or owed to the malice of a neighboring group. Thus the names appear, disappear, or are transmitted with surprising facility. Here is a good example of disagreement [8] between observers working in different periods: Somewhere, between 1926 and 1928, Max Schmidt collected a short vocabulary of 30 words, which he published later on (1) as having been obtained from a group called

1. loc. cit.

[10] Tamainde, then installed at Tres Buritis. This vocabulary certainly
[11] comes from group b2 of our classification, who are distinguished by
[12] the usage of a verbal suffix of the form -kare, and which we have also found in the region of Tres Buritis. However, in 1938, the users of this same dialect called themselves by the name Taisnê, and the name Tamainde was only used by a group speaking a different dialect (b3) to point out a third group (c of our classification), and one may doubt that its dialect even belongs to the Nambikwara linguistic family.

[21] What conclusions may be drawn? Any attempt at classification based on the names of bands, whether they be chosen by the band or received from neighboring groups is condemned to failure in advance. The only sound basis for a classification of bands and groups can be linguistic. In any case, this method will be the only valid one as long as study carried on during the rainy season will not permit the establishment of larger and more stable units than the nomadic bands of the dry season. As it would be difficult and arbitrary to call each
[28] dialect by the temporary name of such and such a band who spoke it at the moment when the research was being carried on, and as a classification undertaken on the basis of present knowledge could only be provisional, we shall proceed with the aid of symbols, in preference to the names of groups which would give a false picture of reality.

[47] This having been stated, it can be said that the Nambikwara linguistic family includes three principal groups of which two are subdivided into sub-groups. There are in all five distinct units. The two groups that we designate respectively by a and b are closely related from a semantic and morphological point of view, and they incontestably represent two modulations of the same language. In the two cases one observes the same usage of classifactory suffixes, with a verbal suffix whose meaning is "to be," "to become," "to do," to make." In the dialect of group a, this verbal suffix appears in the forms -kedjaru, -kedutsu -ki'titu. One should distinguish a type a1, predominant from the Papagaio to the Juina River, with an ending -u for nouns, and a type a2 which tends to substitute an ending -e for the preceding. As this last group is found to the west of the other, and it occupies approximately the region from the sources of the Dona de Onibeo River and the Camararé River, it appears likely that the ending -e has appeared under the influence of dialect b. Apart from the ending and several variations in vocabulary, the dialects a1 and a2 are practically identical.

The vocabularies of groups a and b diverge more seriously. The latter also presents an ending -e for nouns, and some [9] new forms for the verbal suffix. On that latter basis, one should distinguish a

MT sub-group b1 with the verbal suffix -dige or -dage, and a sub-group b2, in all points identical to the preceding except the verbal suffix of the form [10] -jare. The region of the dialect b1 extends from the right bank of the Guaporé in the south to the lower course of the Tenente Marques and Ité Rivers in the north, and from the basin of the Doze de Outubro River in the east, to a region terminating above the right bank of the Roosevelt River to the west. One hears dialect b2 from the upper basin and the middle basin of the Roosevelt River to the juncture of the Barão de Malgaço and Commemoração de Floriano Rivers.

In these semantic and morphological characters, dialect c departs clearly from the preceding. We have not progressed far enough in studying it linguistically to decide whether or not it is correct to include it in the Nambikwara family. It is spoken in a region situated to the north and northeast of the region of dialect a2.

We shall now attempt to establish a correlation between our classification and the previous outlines.

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MT

1. Group a.

Sub-group a1.

From the vocabulary published by Roquette Pinto at the end of Rondonia, and from geographic indications which he furnished, one can conclude that his Kokoxu (which form his group in the southeast) certainly corresponds to our sub-group a 1. Nevertheless, we have not been able to find the term Kokoxu (P. de Souza: Cocoxu) again. The ending -u indicates dialect a 1; but the term koko belongs to the Parecí language and to the dialects of group c, with the same meaning "maternal uncle." It is completely unknown in the system of parentage of group a. According to our information, group a 1 would be called:

1. xaligere by group b 1;
2. xalixiri"re by group c;

and it is divided into numerous bands who call themselves, or who give these names to one another:

3. xakiróxoxo (right bank of the Juruena);
4. halagóxoxo (left bank of the Juina);
5. kiaxoxo (surname: "the liars"; upper-Juruena);
6. kuri"xoxo (left bank of the Juruena).

1/4 [Map No1 follows here. - Analyst]

1:Lévi-Strauss (1) E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Map No. 1

Telegraph Line ----

101 Group a 1 is in contact with the Iranxe Indians, whom they call:
197 7. iraʼsu (at the juncture of the Clavary and do Sangue Rivers).

[11] Sub-group a2.

These are the Anunzu, Anunzé, or the southeast group of Roquette Pinto (P. de Souza: Anonzé). The brief vocabulary published by Roquette Pinto following his own vocabularies also belongs to this group. We have never found the term Anunzé nor the other forms, but only the names,

8. soʼlesu (a 1/2);
9. kahaʼtelí (b 1);
10. munʼheti (c).

II. Group b.

Sub-group b1.

Our sub-group b 1 includes the Uaintaçu, Uaindzé (Rondon: Uaindezi), Kabixi, Tagnani (Rondon: Tagnani), Tauité (Rondon: Tauité), Tarusé, Taschuité (Rondon: Tachivuité) of Roquette Pinto, that is his two groups, southwest and northwest. We have never found the term Tagnani, nor, as a name of a band, the terms tauitte, tarune, tasuitne, which signify respectively, in the system of parentage of group b, "my child," "my brother-in-law," "my relative to the third degree." The Paresi apply the name Kabixi to group b. For the term Uaintaçu, we have found an equivalent:

11. oʼindesu (a 1),

which designates group b. On the other hand, we have collected the following appellations:

12. nikedetsou (a 1; to the west of the Camararé River);
13. tarytide (b 1; basin of the Doze de Outubro River);
14. maimande (b 1; --Kabixi [Paresi] Mama-inde [Rondon]; sources of the Doze River and right bank of the Guaporé):(1)

1. It seems that the southern frontier of the maimande group is rather on the course of the tributaries of the right bank of the Guaporé River. The Guaporé strictly speaking is inhabited by river tribes, distinct from the Nambikwara in tongue and culture. But these tribes

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know and fear the Indians called Kabiji, this as far away as the São Miguel River (Haseman, "Some notes on the Pawumwa Indians of South America," American Anthropologist, 1912, p. 333). To add to the obscurity which still covers the problem of the southern frontiers of the Nambikwara, the Paressi of the south, who live to the east of the sources of the Juruena, are also known by the name of Kabiji (Max Schmidt, "Reisen in Matto Grosso," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1912, Vol. 44, pp. 146-176). Today they have intermingled or disappeared.

[12] 15. mamãindeti (c; identical to the preceding, and, by extension, to the whole group b 1);
16. itãmolo (c; toward the south).

Sub-group b 2.

This dialect had never been pointed out, except by the short vocabulary published by Max Schmidt and attributed to a Tamainde group. We have collected the following names:

17. tonãnde (b 1; left bank of the Barão de Malgaço River);
18. kõiola (c; same region);
19. nãselate (b 1; between the Tenente Marques and Roosevelt Rivers.
20. lakõnde (b 1; right bank of the Roosevelt River);
21. sovãnte (c; same region);
22. navãite (b2 [Rondon: Navaite]; Roosevelt River);
23. taiate (b2; Roosevelt River).

III. Group c.

This group seems not to have been studied. Only Rondon mentions, without geographic or dialectic information, a group Sabanê and a group Taia. This last term belongs to the system of parentage of group c with the meaning "elder brother (or sister)"; we have never found it as a name of a band. On the other hand, group c calls itself by the name:

24. sabãne (c),

and is called by other groups:

25. tamainde (a 1/2);
26. tamãnde (b 1/2).

IV. Names of Other Nambikwara Groups.

|01| For the terms Malutundu, Ualutnudu, Ua-lut-ndu (Roquette
|97| Pinto), Malotundu (Rondon), we have an equivalent:

27. malõnde (b 1),

which, nevertheless, has been given to us with the general sense of "Indian" (maõone, b 1[1] "it is an Indian") as opposed to "Brazilian" (kaiaõgere, b 1[1] "the dressed").

We have not been able to collect any equivalent for the following terms cited [13] by Roquette Pinto and Rondon to designate Nambikwara groups: Taiopa (Roquette Pinto), Teiobé (Rondon), Tayopa (P. de Souza) (1), Xaodikokas (Roquette Pinto), Xaodes (Rondon), Xaodys (P. de Souza), Nitné (Rondon), Minis (Rondon), Pavates (Relatorios de Commissão Rondon, passim). The authors mentioned do not furnish any precise information concerning the dialect and the geographic situation of these groups.

1. There is a term of parentage iõpa which belongs to dialect c with the sense of "brother-in-law," but the possessive i or ia comes from dialect b.

V. Names of Other Tribes

Roquette Pinto cites the term Saluma as belonging to his northwest group. We have documented it under the forms:

28. soiõnde (b 1);

29. soiõma (c);

to designate a northern tribe strange to the Nambikwara. As von den Steinen cites the name Sunuma, given, he says, by the Paresi to the Mundurukú, this interpretation seems more reasonable. Group c calls the Paresi,

30. Jamaõe iharaka (c)

and recognizes at least the existence of three other northern tribes,

31. ikatinaui (c);

32. kaiaõli (c);

33. jeraõolonte (c).

Sub-group b 1 at times mentions a tribe living around the Barão de Malgaço River,

34. jkaõõre (b 1).

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14. tiimo..... husband, son of the father's sister, son of the mother's brother.
15. iopa..... sister's husband, wife's brother (m. s.).
16. iiuitta..... brother's wife, husband's sister (w. s.).
17. iiauitte..... daughter's husband, (f. p.), daughter's husband, "wife's" husband (m. s.).
18. iinaiio..... brother's daughter (w. s.), sister's daughter (m. s.), when she is at the same time wife of the son (m. w. s.) or wife of the younger brother (m. s.).
19. iiti..... daughter's children.
20. ioeio..... son's child, or of the daughter when the latter is married to an uncle.
21. zoa..... child (married to an uncle).

617 [32] This vocabulary of relationships apparently does not offer any affinity linguistically with that of dialects a and b; and the structure of the system also seems different. Without doubt the fundamental principle—the marriage of cross-cousins—remains the same. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient to refer to the list of relatives designated by the terms tiimo and iatta. Again one finds the division of members of the same generation into sisters and wives (m. s.), or brothers and husbands (w. s.) on one side, and on the other, sisters and wives of brothers (w. s.), or brothers and husbands of sisters (m. s.). But the distinction here is more confused, since it is accompanied by an absence of symmetry concerning the designation of the brothers and sisters of parents, and the children of the brothers and sisters of the subject. Instead of finding the first divided into fathers and mothers, fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law, and the second into children, and sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, we have a more complicated terminology. The name of the father's sister (asiataba) differs from that of the wife of the mother's brother (siiko), although they are habitually confused in a system of marriage among bilateral cross-cousins. There is also a special name for the father's brother. But, if this latter is a younger brother who has one of his nieces, he will be called brother-in-law (iopa) by his brother's son, his nephew. Even more delicate is the naming of nephews and nieces because the symmetry carried on by the other systems between the children of brother (of a brother) and the children of sister (of a sister) fades out giving way to a new symmetry, this time between the children of sister (of a sister), and the children of the wife (classificatory) of the brother, who are called by the same name. Moreover, the children

621 We shall comment later (1) on the complex motives that might have induced

1. Cf. p. 77.

[197] these two bands, speaking different dialects and who were not even capable of understanding one another without an interpreter, to practically merge. It seems that group b1 was composed of the rare survivors of a formerly important formation now disappeared, living previously in two distinct groups, around the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Roosevelt River. We have already tried to calculate these losses, resulting from recent epidemics (2). Group c had,

2. Cf. above, p. 6.

without doubt, gone through the same hardships. Moreover, its [578] position had been compromised by antagonisms with other bands rising from the same dialect, and who had formerly been their allies. A visit, with a commercial goal, of related Indians originally from the south (members of the group known by the name of Kabisi) must have raised the forces of group b1 to 31 persons for 621 several days. Here is its composition at this moment:

115 157 622 601 Fire 1 (1 to 7). --The family of the chief of the band. The chief, B1, is 30 to 35 years old, and one of the most intelligent Indians whom it was our privilege to encounter. But he is intelligent in a way very different from A1. The latter is prudent and very resourceful, always meditating some political combination. On the contrary, B1 is not a man of action, but rather contemplative, with a charming and poetic spirit, and rich sensibilities. He is fully conscious of the inevitable decadence of his people, and this conviction often shades his words with a subtle tint of melancholy:

(4) ĺoãmditnʔẽ . nĩãnaĩne hẽni niho ãmdednĩẽn. (b1)

"I also did the same thing, now it is finished," [51] he says, remembering happier days when his group, far from being reduced to a handful of individuals incapable of keeping alive their traditional customs, was comprised of several hundreds of participants faithful to all the manifestations of the Nambikwara culture. His curiosity toward our customs and towards those which we had been able to observe in other tribes is just as great as ours. With him, ethnographic work is never unilateral. He conceives of it only as an exchange of information, and what we bring him is always very welcome. Often [17] he even asks us for--and preserves carefully--drawings representing

621 [53] Western group, dialect b2: tajate, takõnde (b1/2); 601 soyaĩnte (c).

We shall limit ourselves to giving the genealogical scheme of the composition of this little group (Figure 16), found, only for several days, toward the line of the division of the waters which separate the basins of the Roosevelt and the Gi-Parana (Tres Buritis). Its members seem to be the survivors of a formerly important group, the tajte.

Northern group, dialect c: sabãne (c); tamãnde (b1/2); tõtesu (a 1/2).

●[54] We have not been able to establish the genealogical composition of this group for reasons of linquistic difficulties (dialect c does not seem to spring from the same family as the others) and because of the consecutive impossibilities which we encountered in determining the true position in the system of individuals designated by the same term. We shall thus content ourselves with an analysis by households.

Fire 1 (1 to 3). --C1, about 30 years, and his wife c2, 25 years; he, "brother" of C6, she, "daughter" of c23; their son, C3, is about 10 years old.

Fire 2 (4 and 5). --C4, 40 years, is the younger brother of C20 and of c23; his wife c5, 25 to 30 years, is called "wife" by C6, "older sister" by c21, and "daughter" by c23.

Fire 3 (6 to 10). --We have already analyzed (1) the kinship

1. Pp. 33 to 35.

situation of C6, of his wife c7 (both are 30), and of their children c8 and c9 (6 to 8 years); the younger brother of the wife, C10, about 10 years, lives with them.

Fire 4 (11 to 14). --C11 is 50 odd years old; he is called "elder brother" by C6, C4, C15, C20, and c23; his wife c12, about 35 years, is "daughter" of c23; the young brother of the latter, C14, about 17 years, unmarried, lives with them as well as their daughter of 7 years, c13.

Fire 5 (15 to 18). --C15, about 30 years, is called "younger brother" by C20 and c23; his wife c16 is "daughter" of c23; she has a young brother C17, about 12 years, and a baby of some 20 months, c18.

841 147 171 among South-American Indians. Since the sixteenth century, travelers have often been amazed by the insignificance of the menses of Indian women. Thus: "In the period of about one year which we spent in that country, ordinarily associating with the people, we have never seen the women have their menses" (J. de Léry, Voyage faict en la Terre du Brésil, Gaffarel, Paris, 1880, Vol. II, Ch. 17, p. 92); and more recently: "no one notes when they go through certain difficult periods peculiar to their sex" (Tocantins, "Estudos sobre os Mundurucus," Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, 1877, p. 113). On the other hand, the text just cited could be interpreted in two different ways: the vocal inflexion of the informant suggested that the expression edẽdé edẽdé edẽdé signified "(this) moon (yes), (this) moon (no), (and this) moon (again)", meaning "every other moon" and not—as it is also grammatically possible—"moon, moon, moon," that is "every moon." The first sense would constitute a sort of physiological scandal, but remains, nevertheless the most probable. In fact, it is possible that the periodic indispositions are less important and more irregular among South-American women than is the case among the whites.

842 [209] The Nambikwara have a very clear idea of the relationship between sexual intercourse and conception. It is frequent that an Indian clarifies that paternity relationship is one of the blood, and not classificatory, by forming a ring with the thumb and index finger of the left hand, into which he introduces the index finger of the right hand which he glides back and forth. After this demonstration, he indicates the child saying: tayétte, tayétte, "my child, my child" (3).

3. From the same observation made by Roquette Pinto (loc. cit. p. 255) more than twenty years earlier, one can conclude that this gesture does not constitute an individual innovation, but a stylized social conduct.

842 833 197 Etymology points out the connection between the two phenomena: in the eastern dialect, "copulate" is translated nitnedjutu and, in the central and southern dialects, tamindige, tuutare. These three terms are attached to the respective forms [64] for "father": ahutnosu (nosu = man, al), tamindé, uáfre. On the other hand, in the northern

842 dialect, it is: "to copulate," iruja, juũreli, while "father" is uũinko;
833 but one refers rather to sexual relations by the term ʒikiʃikiʃi, whose
●197 evocative value is reinforced by an appropriate gesticulation. This term corresponds, in the other dialects, to the compounds uinikuʒiʒu (a1), iekejakãtige (b1), "to copulate with rhythmic movements." Likewise, in the western dialect, "to copulate" is expressed by ainʒore, even though the demonstration evoked at the beginning of this paragraph uses the term ninʃore.

842 We have not been able to elucidate clearly the indigenous theory of conception (conceive: uetnẽdige, b1; from uette, "child"). It implies apparently that the sperm coagulates in the uterus and progressively forms the child. The man alone would play a positive role while the woman would be reduced to that of a simple receptacle. Nevertheless, the woman is held responsible for sterility, whether it be attributed to a particular condition or to age.

834 It is difficult to say if the numerous prohibitions attached to
842 sexual relations have as a conscious end to assure conditions favorable to reproduction, or if they depend on more remote beliefs. The first hypothesis is hardly credible, for the Nambikwara are not very eager to have children. The quest for food is too hard, too difficult, to permit the care of several children at the same time, especially when they are still incapable of taking care of themselves; and especially, during the nomadic period a woman cannot carry more than one nursing child, besides the heavy basket. Thus the first steps of the child are impatiently awaited. At any rate, several prohibitions have, as a definite goal, the limitation of sexual activity. Besides the prohibition of incest (1), it is not good to copulate "moonlit

835 1. The prohibition concerning incest is formulated as follows:

(7) tyãde takenãde tamĩndige manhatte (b1)
for a sister and brother to copulate is bad

[284] but it does not seem that the infractions are punished other than by collective disapproval. A very equivocal attitude concerning a couple (A71 and a72) and the use, in their regard, of kinship terms communicated with repugnance, and manifestly contradictory to the system, makes one believe that it could be a case of parallel cousins. We have not been able to find a sure case of incest between blood relatives.

In fact, if there is
621 no doubt concerning the close affinity of dialects a1, a2, b1 and b2,
197 which do not differ among themselves except as the derivations
182 of a mother language, dialect c offers, as regards the preceding,
184 such profound differences that one does not know if one is in the presence of a language of the same family. In any case, in whatever way linguistic study might resolve this problem, it can be reasonably set forth. We do not hesitate, nevertheless (and in spite of anthropological differences), to place group c in the cultural family of the Nambikwara, because of the identity of material culture and way of life, and especially because of the psychological attitude of groups b1, b2 and c as regards one another, who ostensibly recognize their community.

621 The union of the two groups posed a problem, that of the
605 nature of the relationships which would go on between their respective members. This problem [78] has been resolved by the recognition of all male members of group c as being "cross-cousins"—tarûte, of all the adult males of group b1, and of all the adult males of group b1 as being the jôpa (corresponding to "cross-cousin" in the vocabulary of parentage of group c) of all the adult males of group c. The result, consequently, is that if all the husbands of the two groups are "brothers-in-law among themselves," all the "wives" of a group are "sisters" of the husbands of the other, and all the children of both sexes, in a group, potential husbands or wives of the infants of the other group belonging to the opposite sex. The blood fusion of the two groups is thus definitely assured for the following generation. Here is a type situation which one finds thus realized:

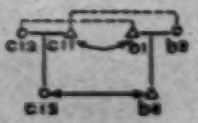

Fig. 18.

The systematic character of this solution is not doubtful. The informants belonging to group b or to group c, when we interrogated them concerning their kinship relationship regarding a male adult of the allied group, never furnished us with a special answer concerning the considered case, but remarked

collectively obliged to make reprisals for an injury done one of its members. Much more often, given the very lively and permanent animosity which reigns between the groups, these pretexts good for exciting the spirit are voluntarily entertained, especially if they feel strong either because of the importance of the group's strength or because of an alliance with neighboring bands against a common enemy, concluded by the intermediary of messengers acting as ambassadors. The proposition of war is presented by an exalted individual or one who exposes before his companions his particular griefs, in the same tone and style that speeches were made at the encounter.

39. ẽ akinãẽ ẽednãẽ ɡõdegãẽ kakonẽẽ ordnẽẽ ɣalaurîsenẽẽ.(b1) whose approximate sense is: "Hello! Come here! Let's go! I am irritated! very irritated! arrows! big arrows!" The Indians become so excited upon the occasion of these epic speeches that it is not possible to obtain the commentary of the formula except well after they have been cited and undoubtedly very unfaithfully. But war is not a matter of purely profane decision. It necessitates a preliminary ceremony which will determine if the signs are favorable or not. Dressed in special attire, tufts of buriti straw dappled with red, hoods of jaguar skin, the men assemble under the leadership of the chief and execute the special dance and chant of war. (1) A divining rite

1. Dances and music will be the object of a special publication.

is then performed. The chief, or the sorcerer in the groups where he exists, goes solemnly to hide an arrow in a corner of the bush. The arrow is retrieved the next day. If it is covered with blood, the expedition is undertaken, if not, it is given up. (2) Many warlike

2. This symbolic use of an arrow seems typical of cultures situated north of the Amazon. The fact is interesting, given the northern affinities of the Nambikwara language. Concerning the use of the arrow as the message of war, cf. Roth, "An inquiry," etc., Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 30, p. 362; Koch-Grünberg, Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern, etc., Berlin, 1910, Vol. II, p. 316; Gumilla, Historia Natural del Rio Orinoco, Barcelona, 1791, Vol. I, p. 134.

expeditions thus begun end after several kilometers of marching.

423 garden, with the stipulation, of [113] a psychological and moral order, that one wait to take possession until "the memory of the dead [428 has been lost." However, this semijudicial means of acquiring 425] land does not imply the existence of an inheritance right. The relatives are not favored, and anybody can avail oneself of the same title.

GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY AND DAILY LIFE

The Categories

128 The linguistic study of the Nambikwara should be the object of special publications, (1) and we shall thus content ourselves

> 1. C. Lévi-Strauss, Sur certaines similarités, etc., loc. cit.; Paul L. Garvin, Esquisse du Système, etc., loc. cit.

here with several summary pieces of information destined to bring into sharper focus what can be inferred concerning the broad logical categories of thought, and to assign a place to the Nambikwara group within the orbit of other American cultures.

193 The most remarkable trait of the Nambikwara language, ● 197 made particularly evident by the central and southern dialect (b1), 811 is an extended use of the classificatory suffixes. The systematic character of the classification of things and beings is comparable only to that found in the Ŝiḅṣa linguistic family. Furthermore, if one ignores several secondary differences, the division of the world into categories in Nambikwara presents a remarkable similarity with that found in the Ŝiḅṣa dialects. (2)

> 2. The following examples are borrowed from Walter Lehmann, Zentral-Amerika, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920, I, pp. 277-279, 404, 440, 454, 571.

In the division of things and beings into eleven principal logical categories, ten are found to be common to the Nambikwara and to the Ŝiḅṣa. The category "season, weather, sky" seems to be broken up, in Nambikwara, into several suffixes. Inversely, the same suffix -are classes two categories logically related but distinguished by

193 their suffixes in Šibṣa: —nak (Bribri), "excretion, secretion, resin"
197 and -dio, -rio (Bribri), "secretion, damp." (3)
811

3. There would be, naturally, a large number of detailed observations to present. In the different languages, the logical categories partially overlap; thus, the Nambikwara category -kere corresponds partially to the Bribri -kal, and at the same time to -Xkuo. The suffix -kere expresses resistance largely, and the suffix -kate, which we have connected with it, form.

The phonetic analogies which occasionally appear between the classifying suffixes of the Nambikwara and the Šibṣa do not seem to us of great importance. On the other hand, morphological analogy, and above all the division of things and beings into classes which are not imposed on the mind [114] by any internal necessity, do not seem to us to be logically the result of a pure phenomenon of convergence. We see there, on the contrary, sufficient reason to affirm a linguistic affinity between the Šibṣa and Nambikwara groups. (1)

1. In his book Durch Central-Brasilien, Von den Steinen had already suggested the constitution of a linguistic area extending from Colombia to northern Bolivia by a chart of the northern and western distribution of the word sizi (sun, fire). The term sizi can be approximated in Nambikwara: siisu (a1), siise (b1): round hut, circle.

[115]

Logical Category	Nambikwara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Type, family, group	-ñde -ñde -ñde		-ñak	-ñah	
Hair, fur, feathers	-nese	-ulis	-kŏ, -kŏ -tsa	-sok -so	-lisa -ko-a
To cut, to pierce, hole	-tre	-tik			-kali -ka

continued

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192

Logical Categor	Nambikwara	Rama	Bribri	Terraba	Guatuso
Hard, stiff, rigid, wod, stretchd	-kere -kate	-kat	-kɨ̃r	-kɨ̃r -krɔ̃ -grɔ̃	-kora -kure
Soft, supple, stretchd	-gere	-kit	-kitia		-kira
Fruit, grain, rounde object	-kɨmɨ'nde	-up	-uo -kuo	-kuo	-ku -kuru
That wich hangs is added, docortes, trembes	-gere	-kiin (?)	-io	-kro	
Full, swelled, liquid	-are	-ri, -li -ari -ubli	-ri'o -ri'o -ri -li	-rio	-ko-ri
Seasoo weathe, sky	-inde -are -ere		-kã -kõ	-duco	
Bark, leathe, skin, clothes, what accompanes	-ore	-thik	-Xikɨ̃	-cuota -cuo	-ikn
Flesh, substance	-unde	-kla	-tikɨ'	-sho	

[115] THE NUMBERS

802 The Nambikwara have only three names for numbers, strictly speaking: one, two and many. But they are capable of composing these terms to form higher numbers by addition. We have thus been able to obtain countings up to 5, 6 and 8. To count "one" the Indians hold down with the left hand all the fingers of the right hand except the thumb. To count "two," they hold down the thumb, ring finger, and little finger, leaving up only the index and the middle finger. To count "three," they hold down all fingers except the ring finger. As a matter of fact, as no special word exists for this figure, "three" is no more than a unit added to two. In the central and southern dialect

THE COLORS

§22 The differentiation of colors has been studied in eleven patterns for which we give the list of Indian terms below.

Groups a and b present common characteristics. They distinguish white, black, red, blue, and put yellow and green in a single category. (1) However, while group a extends that assimilation

[193 197 117]

1. The term which designates green and yellow affects the singular form of a reduplicative plural. This morphological aspect is found again in Tupi: Thus in Brikri, green = tapa-tapa, yellow = kilio-kilio; in Guarnso, yellow = mari-mari; in Rama, yellow = nugnugna, green blue = nrinnrinna. (Cf. Lehmann, loc. cit., I, p. 333, 394, 434, 435).

to yellow ocher, group b stops at clear yellow and classes yellow ocher with burnt sienna in the same category, designated by the term of dialect a1 for "black." (2) Group c distributes the colors in a very

[25]

2. In accord with the anthropological judgment of the Indians who do not distinguish themselves from the "whites" as "yellow," but as the "colored" from the "clear":

(36) nẽ ʔanjena uẽẽnẽdnjena (b1)
You are fair (clear), I am dark.

different way: one same category unites the reds and the yellows (which furthermore suggests the scale of the tincture of urucu), while the blues are attached to green and black.

The most esteemed colors are white and black, undoubtedly because these are the colors of the ornaments made from pearly fragments of river shells and from the dark nuts of the palm tree. Then comes red, then yellow. Green and blue are not much liked.
[117]

§22 §23

Colors	Dialect a 1	Dialect a 2	Dialect b 1/2	Dialect c
White	abehdesu	abehdesu	dezehde	pãte
Black	ẽnẽdne	atsuldlu	ŋãte, dzũne	tapẽhe

continued

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

THE NAMBICUARA

By Claude Lévi-Strauss

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Nambiquara* (*Nambikwara*, *Mambyara*, *Mahiluva*) have been identified only recently. *Nambiquara*, meaning "long eared," was originally a *Tupi* nickname used since the 18th century for the little-known tribes of the western and northern parts of the Serra dos Parecis. These tribes had large ear and lip plugs, like those of the *Suya* and *Botocudo*, and were called Beiços de Pau, "Wooden Mouths," by the rubber collectors and gold miners. About 1830, they began to make hostile sorties from the region of the upper Sangue River. When, in 1907, General Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon discovered important tribes in the Serra do Norte, he identified them with the *Nambiquara* of the old literature. Thus, *Nambiquara* designates a tribe other than the "Long Ears," or "Wooden Mouths," to whom it was originally applied.

Extending northwest from the Papagaio River more or less to the confluence of the Commemoração and the Barão de Melgaço Rivers, branches of the Machado (Gi-Paraná) River, the region of the *Nambiquara* (map 1, *No. 2*; map 2: map 4) is bounded on the south by the right tributaries of the Gamporé River and, farther west, by the whole of the Commemoração de Floriano River. The northern boundary is unknown but probably runs more or less along the 11th parallel between the Theodore Roosevelt and Papagaio Rivers. (Lat. 10°–15° S., long. 57°–61° W.)

The first classification of the *Nambiquara* was made by Roquette-Pinto (1938, pp. 216–217), who listed four main groups. Lévi-Strauss (n.d. b), using linguistic data, distinguishes three main groups. Two of these, which are subdivided into two groups each, clearly belong to the same linguistic family, but the linguistic affiliation of the third group, which is subdivided, is doubtful. These groups are: *Eastern Nambiquara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Kithãus*, *Cocozus*) between the Papagaio and Juina Rivers; *Northeastern Nambiquara* (Roquette-Pinto's *Anunzes*) in the basins of the Camararé and Doze de Outubro Rivers; *Central* and *Southern*

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2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
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Nambicuara (Roquette-Pinto's *Uainiaça*, which includes his *Kabishi*, *Taquemi*, *Tamaid*, *Tarunt*, and *Tashaidi*) between the Gaspar River Basin in the south and the Tenente Marques, Ikê and Roosevelt Rivers in the north and northwest; *Western Nambicuara* (new), closely related to the central and southern groups and living on the headwaters and in the upper basin of the Roosevelt River; and *Northern Nambicuara* (new), speaking its own language and living north of the central group.

The Indians mention other tribes north of the *Nambicuara*; one called *Salumã*, *Sarumã*, or *Saimdé* is almost certainly the *Mundurucú*; another may be the *Tajaoyaona*.

In 1907, Rondón estimated the total *Nambicuara* population to be 20,000. In 1912 Roquette-Pinto met 1,000 to 1,500. It is doubtful whether the total population, which has been decimated by several recent epidemics, now greatly exceeds 1,500.

The *Nambicuara* language was previously thought to be isolated, but its distinctive trait—the use of classificatory suffixes dividing the universe into about ten categories—is strongly reminiscent of *Chibcha*.

Nambicuara culture, although less primitive than that of the *Siriono* to the southwest, is strikingly simple in comparison with that of the neighboring *Paressi* to the southeast and of the *Tupí-Cawahib* to the northwest. Their lack of the hammock, their custom of sleeping on the ground, their crude ceramics (the *Eastern Nambicuara* entirely lack pottery), the nakedness of both sexes, their nomadism, their use of temporary shelters during most of the year, the general poverty of their material culture, and the simplicity of their social organization distinguish them from the higher cultures of the Gaspar River area, to which they nevertheless probably belong.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE

The *Nambicuara* habitat is a savannalike plateau about 500 to 1,500 feet (150 to 500 m.) above sea level with an arenaceous soil which comes from disintegrated sandstone bedrock. Except for narrow gallery forests along river banks, the region is infertile, having only shrubs and small trees with thorns or thick bark.

In this unproductive environment the *Nambicuara* have a dual subsistence pattern. They are both semisedentary bush dwellers and incipient farmers. During the dry season, women, accompanied by their children, forage with digging sticks for wild fruits, seeds, and roots, and catch grubs, rats, bats, spiders, snakes, lizards, and other small creatures, while men hunt what large game they can find with bows and arrows and collect wild honey.

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
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ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether those South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organization and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brazil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brazil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Orenoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

101 are their enemies whom they call the Salumá or Saltoré, probably the Apiões whom the local Brazilians call the Beiço de Pau, owing to the fact that they wear labrets.

[197] 13 101 Linguistically the Nambicuara are divided into an Eastern and a Western group. Both the Eastern and Western Nambicuara, in turn, are dialectally subdivided. The Eastern group is made up today of four bands: the Elétaun situated south of the telegraph line on the Rio Formiga, a tributary of the Suiua River; the Wakítiau just north of the telegraph line on the Juruena River; the Kitánhlu south of the telegraph line on the Camararé River; and the Chiwtáu now including the Hágudiau north of the telegraph line on the Camararé River. The Eastern bands thus extend on both sides of the telegraph line from Utiarity to Vilhena. The Western Nambicuara are composed of at least three bands, the Wándiau on the Kabishí River (a tributary of the Gumperé River), the Tãondiau and Soédndiau on the upper Roosevelt River. The above-mentioned names were given by Julio of the Wakítiau band. The different subdivisions of the Nambicuara have been called various names in the reports. As far as concerns the Eastern Nambicuara the following names appear to be synonymous. For instance, the local Brazilians call the Wakítiau, Elétaun, and Kitánhlu the Iritoe; these names appear to cover at least part of the people whom Roquette-Pinto called the Kokoré. The combined Chiwtáu and Hágudiau are called the Mandúca by the local people, and the Anunás by Roquette-Pinto. Or, to put it another way, the Eastern Nambicuara of the literature are divided into the Kokoré and the Anunás by Roquette-Pinto, and into the Iritoe and Mandúca by the Brazilians who live in the region.

101 62 The confusion in band names in all probability has arisen from the changes in band organization in the last half century. Fifty years ago the Nambicuara were far more numerous than they are today, and no doubt the number of bands was also greater than today. The extension of the name of an important band to lesser bands is thus quite conceivable. 62 The economy of the Nambicuara appears to indicate that there are maximum and minimum limits to the size of a band. If it grows too large for a given area to support, it will break up, or if it becomes so small that its economic

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
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sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly embracing each other; always

[illegible]

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case.

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the central, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces. In the course of our fieldwork we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabáne* group) and thirty-four using the central dialect (*Tawándy* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissension, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group.

the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

§20 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêta" for each unit.

§21 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the number demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêta, dêta, dêta" (this, this, this).

§20 To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

§22 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle kuagçá, a triangle sendzu. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

§21 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tuggê the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Bellatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambikwara.

§27 As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

§17 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.

[94] The consonants are b, c, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, t, z; h is always strongly aspirated, like German ch.

F, j, v, and x are lacking.

The following consonant clusters are characteristic: nn, kr, tch, dn, gn, tg, tn, kd, kz, kr, nt, nz, tz, td, ng, ng, tnh, gg, gd, ndz, nk.

[95] Those words designating parts of the human body have the same root in all Nambicuara dialects, slightly modified in one case or another: uá or tuá.

[264]

	Cocozu	Tagnani	Tawite	Anunze
Arm	Oá-nukicú	Uá-nuirí	Toá-rahenuí	Uá-nukiuí
Mouth	Toá-inçú	Uá-iurí	Tá-iuirí	Uá-iuerí
Tongue	Toáio-herú	Uái-hihuí	Táiu-henuú	Uáile-herú

Here the particle tua (uá, oá) has the same possessive value as the nu particle of Arawakan languages; it is found only in words pertaining to parts of the human body. (1)

[93]

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "The Indians of Serra do Norte," [Engl.] Proceedings of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress (Washington, 1917).

[Fig. 58]

Nearly all Cocozu words end in nu or çu, used interchangeably. Anunze words often end in uí. But this last sound, to be pronounced properly, must be approximated to çú. (2) In the Tawite dialect and

2. This may be a linguistic trait of Go parentage. (H. A. T.)

/are common,

in the several Tagnani dialects, endings in ái, ú, rú, and ri (suit ç)

[97] [98] One particle found rather frequently in these dialects deserves special mention, owing to its importance for the [264] evaluation of

relationships with other American languages. This is the gui or gue particle:

Kaiguetaná -- flute (Cocoza)
Hauguidê -- smooth arrow (Tapanaí)
Tokiguedoiuê -- hand (Tawite)
Uóuguêtu -- head (Amunze)

Although various phonetic systems are in existence for the transcription of primitive languages (Kosmos Alphabet, Schmidt's Alphabet, etc.) (1), I deemed it preferable to use the letters of the

1. Pe. W. Schmidt (Anthropos, 1907) describes in detail the historical evolution of phonetics and the various systems which have been suggested. In the same paper he presents his own method, which has been granted wide acceptance.

Latin alphabet in conjunction with a few special signs such as the umlaut, which are within the grasp of any reader.

[Fig. 51]

If Martius' linguistic scheme were still accepted, the Nambicuara tongue would be included among the languages of the "Guck" or "Kolo" group. This family, however, was not maintained in view of its great diversity, and now its former members are [considered] to belong to the Ge-Botocudo and Nu-Arawakan groups.

The languages of the Nu-Arawakan family, however, own certain significant characteristics which are not encountered among the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

For instance, the personal possessive particle nu, one of the most valuable traits in the identification of these languages, is never found among the Nambicuara.

[285] The word used to designate water, one of the best elements for purposes of linguistic comparison because of its constancy throughout the Nu-Arawakan dialects in spite of other differences (nuê, nú), has no equivalent in the Serra do Norte.

194
197 These traits alone would be sufficient to set the Nambicuara language apart from the Nu-Aruaquian dialects.

But beyond this, it is easy to verify the dissimilarity between the lexicons [of these two groups]. Compare the Parecí vocabulary, an excellent representative of the Nu-Aruaquian family, with the word lists of the Serra do Norte Indians. They are completely different.

We would search in vain through South America for a language possessing any deep affinities with the Nambicuara dialects.

[Fig. 82]

It is true, however, that the language of the Xingu River Suya bears a certain resemblance to the dialects of the Serra do Norte. The possessive particle wan of the Suya, which is clearly found among the Nambicuara in the form of either ua or ue, constitutes the best argument in favor of this relationship.

In view of this characteristic, therefore--and it is a significant one for it has served as a basis for the modern classification of our tribes--[288] wherever the Suya are placed the Nambicuara should also be included. (1)

[13]

1. In "Beiträge zur Ethnographie des Araguaya-Xingú Gebietes [Contribution to the Ethnography of the Araguaia-Xingu District]," Proceedings of the XXI International Congress of Americanists (Göteborg, 1924), Fritz Krause confirmed this linguistic affinity and attempted to make it even closer by citing additional words akin not only to Caraja but also to Ge dialects.

As to cultural aspects, it becomes obvious, especially in view of Nordenskiöld's comparative ethnographic studies, that the Nambicuara as well as the Caraja have been influenced by sub-Andean culture.

The Caraja show signs of being partially subjected to this influence at the time when

7;Roquette-Pinto--52 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
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It reached the Chaco region, where they would thus appear to have lived at an earlier time. (See Krause, op. cit.)

On the other hand, as already pointed out elsewhere, the Nambicuara seem to have received this cultural influx by way of a different route--probably through the other channel of sub-Andean cultural expansion described by Nordenskjöld, which ran from northeastern Bolivia down the Amazon and La Plata watersheds. (Nordenskjöld, op. cit., Vol. I).

(H. A. T.)

This is perhaps where the problem becomes most difficult: although Ehrenreich places the Xingu Indians alongside the Ge, other experts on South American linguistics believe, perhaps rightly, that they should be included with the Carajá in Chamberlain's "Carajan" group. (2)

2. Krickeberg, Rivet, and other experts still place the Suyá among the Ge.

[Fig. 63]

Yet it is also inevitable to recognize in the Nambicuara language certain special characteristics of the Kiriri tongue. These traits are exclusively phonic, and [thus much less significant than if they were lexical or morphological.

[267] They merely consist of the ng, tz and ky sounds, which may accepted as peculiar to the Kiriri language (Bayma Cavcant).

In the absence of well translated texts, it is impossible to delve more deeply into the study of these dialects. Even the relationships suggested above will be subject to revision when more complete linguistic materials become available.

GII As regards the [National] Museum collection, the following data are worthy of note.

LINGUISTIC COMPARISONS

	NAMBICUARA				Chicrisaba (Martius)	Cherente (Martius)	Camacan (Martius)	Caraja (Ehrenreich)	Suya (K. von den Steinen)
	Cocozu	Anunze	Tagnani	Tawite					
Genitalia	--	--	--	Taguiri	D'agri	--	--	--	--
Chest [breast]	Toannukizú	--	--	Tanakaindê	--	Dajukudá	--	--	--
Snake	Tiçú	--	--	--	--	--	Ti	--	--
Maize	--	--	Ket	--	--	--	Kechu	--	--
Leg	Toaçuçú	Uaçuzê	Uaduri	Talabendê	--	--	Guang-gestú	--	--
Mouth	Toaiçú	Uaiuzê	Uaiuri	--	Daidana / Daicha	Dageau	--	Waru	Wanakuni
Tooth	Toaiuçú	--	Diiuú	Taiú-iri	--	--	Aenkith-tcinkah	Wa-idzu	Wostoí
Tree	Içú	--	--	--	--	--	--	?	--
Tongue	Toaio-berú	Uauiuê	Uaiuendê	Taiú-bendá	--	--	--	--	Wauuetó

Typescript-Phillips--Ms E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1913)

[Fig. 70]

177 Their plaiting follows patterns clearly characteristic of the
[213] Xingu (Trumai and Nahuqua) and gives proof of contact with those backward tribes which the rudimentary culture of the Nambicuara had already implied.

[154] The quadrangular barbecue, which differs from the usual pattern, is used only by the more advanced groups (Tagnani, etc.); it recalls the barbecue of the Javahe as depicted by Fritz Krause. (1)

1. F. Krause, In Den Wildnissen Brasiliens [In the Brazilian Wilderness] (Leipzig, 1911).

[206] The straw ornaments of the Nambicuara are quite similar to
177 those of the Suya. But linguistic affinities are even more indicative of contact between the two groups. No other people speaks a dialect [310] so similar to that of the Nambicuara in terms of word morphology, although the two languages are otherwise quite different.

171 It is interesting that a spontaneous affinity should arise be-
177 tween two remote and equally primitive tribes, the Guayaki of Paraguay and the Nambicuara of the Serra do Norte, from their common use of the jaguar hide helmet.

However, I am inclined to believe that the latter copied it from their neighbors, the Cayabi of the Paranaiuba River, who use helmets of the same material.

176 Unfamiliarity with the banana tree and with the pipe (an ob-
171 ject frequently encountered in North American mounds and Brazilian sambaquis) indicates how long the Nambicuara have been established in their mountain range.

Recognition of the Ge-Botocudo group as one of the oldest representatives of aboriginal South American populations is no longer a matter of dispute. . . . .

171 [311] There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the [Brazilian] linguistic groupings correspond to ascending stages of civilization [312]. . . . . The Serra do Norte is inhabited by a people of Ge culture evolving toward the Nu-Aruaquan culture, of which they have barely reached the initial stages.